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ABSTRACT

This document contains 3 articles. The first: "Governance in Higher Education: Conflict in the Seventies," by Kenneth P. Mortimer, reviews the realignments of authority now underway, including (1) the challenges to traditional authority relationships from external sources, such as governmental intervention, judicial rulings, statewide coordination and planning, and multicampus systems; (2) the challenges from internal sources, such as the demand for greater control by governing boards, the desire for shared authority on the part of the faculty, and the increase in collective negotiations; and (3) the trouble with senates as mechanisms for the implementation of shared authority. The second article "Changing Governance Patterns and the Faculty," by Stanley O. Ikenberry, surveys certain trends in governance, including the demise of the academic mystique, the decline in autonomy, increased standardization of governance procedures and codes, conflict recognition and management, decentralization, and the growing challenge to academic professionalism, and the implications of these for the faculty. In the third article: "Governance and Institutional Values: What is at Stake?" Lester Anderson discusses whether the type of governance makes a difference to the definitions and goals of higher education. (AF)

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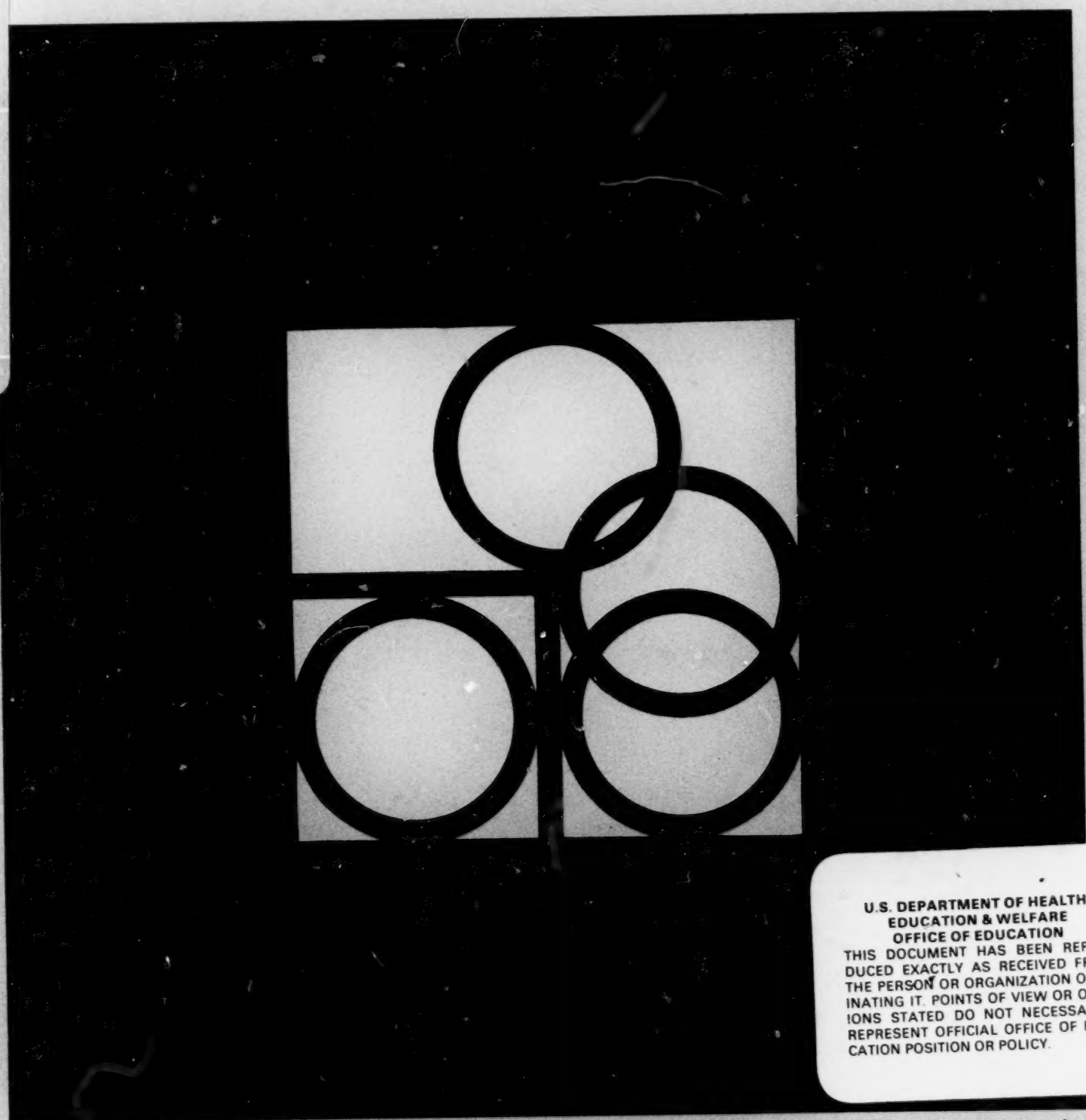
Kenneth P. Mortimer Stanley O. Ikenberry G. Lester Anderson



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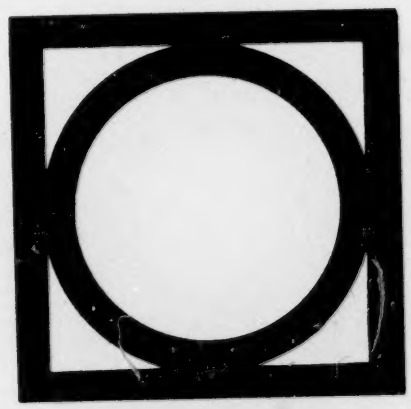

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PREFACE

The governance of American higher education has come to the fore in the last decade as an item of deep concern both to the constituencies of the colleges and universities and to those who make governmental decisions (national, state, and local) about higher education. It seemed at first that student pressure or agitation for institutional reform was the significant item in governance matters. Over the period of a decade, however, we have observed the beginnings of a major realignment of power, authority, and influence among trustees, administrators, and faculty as well as the surge of student power. In addition, governors, legislatures, and the courts are involved in university and college affairs as they have not been in generations.

The Center for the Study of Higher Education at The Pennsylvania State University has concerned itself with these matters. The following reflects the views of three staff members, each of whom focuses on a particular governance issue. Kenneth Mortimer reviews the realignments of authority which are now underway and generally discusses the current ferment. Stanley Ikenberry approaches governance issues in terms of their implications for one particular constituency -- the faculty. Lester Anderson discusses the question: Does governance make a difference?

GOVERNANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION:
AUTHORITY AND CONFLICT IN THE SEVENTIES

Kenneth P. Mortimer

GOVERNANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION: AUTHORITY AND CONFLICT IN THE SEVENTIES

The current governance milieu for institutions of higher education may be characterized as being in a state of flux. A variety of external pressures, many of them of fairly recent origin, are forcing new governance relationships on colleges and universities, while at the same time internal constituencies are demanding an increased role in governance. It is not yet certain whether external or internal forces will have the greater long-run impact on higher education. Many of the basic questions of governance in the seventies will be answered by the accommodations made between these external and internal forces.

Challenges to Traditional Authority Relationships

External Authority

The challenges to traditional institutional authority relationships from external sources take four major forms: governmental intervention, judicial rulings, statewide coordination and

planning, and multicampus systems.[1] O'Neil has argued that external forces constitute a greater threat to institutional or faculty autonomy than the intrinsic limitations on internal self-government.[2] It is certain that external agencies are introducing new constraints on the governance processes of individual institutions and that these constraints are not well understood by practitioners in higher education.

One rather obvious challenge to traditional institutional governance patterns is increasing intervention from the legislative and executive branches of state government. In its 1970 session, the California State Legislature granted 5 percent cost of living pay raises to all state employees except faculty members of the University of California and the California State College systems. Though this was not necessarily a punitive or disciplinary action, public colleges and universities are continually being reminded of their dependence on legislative appropriations. The

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[1]There are many external agencies which have been exerting considerable influence over colleges and universities for decades. These include accrediting agencies, professional societies, the federal government, and churches. The reference here is to some more recent incursions into institutional autonomy.

[2]Robert O'Neil, "The Eclipse of Faculty Autonomy" (Paper delivered at a national conference on Faculty Members and Campus Governance, Houston, February 18, 1971).

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Pennsylvania State Legislature failed to appropriate funds for the operation of The Pennsylvania State University until midway through the 1970 fiscal year. The interest payments ($5,000 - $6,000 per day) on the loans necessary to keep operating were a considerable strain on the University's resources. Even when appropriated, the use of funds may be circumscribed because of the virtual line item control some state departments of finance have over many state college budgets. Pressures for increased fiscal accountability of *all* state expenditures, the emphasis and in some cases the requirement of program budgeting, the reaction against the governing power of faculty and students, and the failure of some coordinating boards to develop adequate alternatives to governmental control all pose real threats to traditional institutional governance patterns.

There are other legislative incursions into what traditionally have been institutional decisions. Recently the Michigan legislature passed legislation fixing faculty teaching loads at a minimum of ten contact hours per week for the University of Michigan, Michigan State, and Wayne State. State college faculty members are to carry a minimum of twelve contact hours per week, while those at community colleges are to have fifteen. In Ohio the legislature adopted House Bill 1219 under which the arrest of a faculty member, student, or staff member sets in motion a

complex process of hearings and appeals and which, in cases of conviction, makes dismissal automatic.[3]

The potential effects of these two bills on governance are disturbing. Decisions that have traditionally been made by institutions themselves are now in the hands of external agencies, with the institution simply reporting the "facts" to a higher authority. These attempts to control institutions of higher learning are likely to increase in the near future. For example, legislatures are considering bills which would either abolish or reexamine tenure regulations in public colleges, while the New York legislature has passed a bill limiting sabbatical leaves for public employees.

A second external challenge to institutional governance patterns is the increasing resort to civil authority in campus crises and disciplinary cases. "The pressures of community police, the highway patrol, and the National Guard and the raids made by police without prior consultation with university administrators, all symbolize the fact that colleges and universities have increasingly surrendered the privilege of self regulation to the external authority of the police and the courts."[4] The courts

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[3]Ibid., pp. 24-26.

[4]T. R. McConnell, *The Redistribution of Power in Higher Education* (Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1971), p. 14.

are beginning to intervene, through the use of grand jury investigations and reports, in a variety of campus disputes.

When the New York University Senate allowed each school of the university to set its own requirements for course completion after the disruptions caused by the Cambodian invasion of spring, 1970, the Law School permitted its students to take final examinations or not, as they chose. The New York Court of Appeals ruled on its own motion that those New York University students wishing to take the state bar examination must complete all their courses by regular tests. Consequently law students had to return to the campus and take their examinations. One must remember in interpreting such incidents that one court decision establishes precedent for a host of others and modifies behavior to conform with judicial rulings.

The trend towards statewide coordination and master planning is also changing traditional authority relationships in higher education. According to Berdahl, coordinating and governing boards are operative in forty-six states.[5] Twenty-seven states had completed master plans and eleven others were either in the process of completing such plans or had plans to develop them.[6] In many

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[5]Robert O. Berdahl, *Statewide Coordination of Higher Education* (Washington, D. C.: The American Council on Education, 1971), p. 35.

[6]Ibid., p. 81.

cases, these plans threaten to move the locus of decision-making authority on certain issues away from the individual campus through the use of program budgeting and other such techniques. The final decision on whether to adopt a new program or to increase enrollment is often made by a state office rather than by the institution.

A fourth external factor, which is challenging traditional governance patterns is the increasing frequency of multicampus systems. California has nine university and nineteen state college campuses. New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Texas, North Carolina, and many others also have multicampus systems, and some universities have a large number of branch campuses. The individual institution's capacity to make binding decisions is circumscribed by these systems or university-wide governing structures.

What is the likely outcome of these external incursions into institutional autonomy? Clark Kerr has predicted that in the future higher education will begin to resemble a quasi-public utility.[7] Some of the external forces mentioned above reflect

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[7]Clark Kerr, "Alternative Models of Governance" (Address delivered at a national conference on Faculty Members and Campus Governance, Houston, February 18, 1971).

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increased public concern with higher education and with making the enterprise more accountable to the public interest. There has been a wide spread public feeling that all colleges and universities, public and private, have not been responsive enough to the public interests. The criticism is that colleges and universities are run by faculty and administrators in their own vested interests rather than that of the public.

The concept of higher education as a public utility is an attempt to interject the public interest into the basic decision-making structure. The public utility model rests on two basic assumptions. First, it assumes that there is a basic conflict of interest between the public and the organization involved. The professionals in higher education cannot be trusted to consider adequately the public interests, and therefore higher education must be supervised or regulated. The institution's own vested interests will dominate its consideration of problems to the detriment of the public interest. Second, the public utility model assumes that higher education is a commodity or service, like electricity or telephones, to be provided for the public at a regulated cost. In the public utility model, costs and benefits are measured by traditional economic indices without appropriate consideration given to the noneconomic benefits of higher education. Yet if Kerr is right, and I suspect he may be, the autonomy

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of colleges and universities will be severely restricted through further incursions by governmental officials and legislatures, the courts, civil authorities, and coordinating boards.

Internal Authority

Within institutions dynamic changes are occurring. Some governing boards are attempting to enhance their control of institutions through greater involvement in internal governance matters and through the use of their veto power. The Pennsylvania State University Board of Trustees issued a document in June, 1970 which redistributed internal power and authority relationships and clarified the role of the president. In the past two or three years, the University of California Board of Regents has adopted a position of watchdog over such previously unmonitored areas as curriculum and personnel appointments on individual campuses.[8] Recent pressure by the Board of Regents at the University of Texas resulted in the dismissal of a college dean.

In the face of these challenges from external agencies and governing boards, faculty and students are demanding more sharing of authority within the institution and are getting a great deal of support in these demands. A national study of governance at

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[8]T. R. McConnell and Kenneth P. Mortimer, *The Faculty in University Governance* (Berkeley: The Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1971), pp. 83-110.

nineteen campuses proposes "a reconsideration of authority relationships with a view to a more effective hearing for students, faculty, and other inadequately heeded constituencies."[9] The recent history of faculty participation in campus governance has shown a preoccupation with the concept of shared authority as the means to implementing the goal of increased faculty involvement.

In a system of shared authority both the faculty and administrators and, in some cases, students have *effective influence* in decision making. Although not precisely definable, the concept of effective influence involves participation relatively early in the desicion-making process and a recognition that there are some issues, such as grading, on which faculty views should prevail and other issues, such as business management, on which administrative views should prevail.[10] Faculty influence should be effective on such aggregate issues as educational, administrative and personnel policies, and economic matters, as well as the procedures for making decisions on questions of concern to individual faculty.

The most recent statement on shared authority, states that the sharing of authority takes two forms. One form is joint participation

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[9]Morris Keeton, *Shared Authority on the Campus* (Washington, D. C.: American Association for Higher Education, 1971), p. 6.

[10]American Association for Higher Education, *Faculty Participation in Academic Governance* (Washington, D. C., 1967), pp. 14-26.

in decision making, and the other is agreeing that different parties will, within defined limits, make the decision alone.[11] Shared authority debates tend to hang on this distinction between joint involvement and separate jurisdiction.

A major problem, which the shared authority model has to confront, when contrasted with collective negotiations or binding arbitration, is that in order to work there must be a substantial degree of mutual respect and trust among the various constituencies. Each group must view the structures and functions of governance mechanisms as legitimate and the people who operate them as trustworthy. In a system of mutual trust and cooperation, influence and reasoned persuasion become the coin of the governance realm. In such a system, a large part of the citizenry can afford to be apathetic to governance problems because they have faith that their interests will be protected adequately and that those who make decisions will not violate the mores or the intellectual values of the higher education community.

It is increasingly apparent, however, that there is remarkably little legitimacy and trust left on college and university campuses. The overt conflicts and demonstrations of the sixties have put an unbearable strain on influence processes and resulted in an increased

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[11]Keeton, *Shared Authority*, p. 148.

consideration of the elements of power. Where influence failed in getting the desired changes, the exercise of power through confrontation, coercion and occasional strikes, and/or formalization of procedures has had some modest success. Higher education now faces an era in which faith in procedures and rules is greater than that in the people who administer them and those who are regulated by them. This faith in rules rather than people represents a *fundamental shift* from the ideals of community and reasoned persuasion which have dominated American higher education for so long. Faith in rules is also related to the increasing emphasis on collective negotiations in higher education.

The essential difference between shared authority and collective negotiations is the latter's reliance on codified authority and power relationships. The American Association for Higher Education Task Force wrote: "When a majority of the faculty has chosen one organization as its bargaining agent, however, it has elected to place primary reliance on power in its dealings with the administration."[12] This power relationship is described as nonintegrative conflict "...in which at least one of the parties perceives the other as an adversary engaging in behavior designed to destroy, thwart, or gain scarce resources at the expense of

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[12] American Association for Higher Education, *Faculty Participation*, p. 46.

the perceiver."[13] Such conflict creates dysfunction at an institution because the adversaries tend to channel much of their energies into resisting the threat rather than into constructive criticism.

The contrast between the shared authority and collective negotiations models is to be one of the crucial governance issues of the seventies.[14] It has become increasingly apparent that the future viability of shared authority mechanisms will rely heavily upon the relationships that are developed between faculty and administrative members. There is a crucial need for clarification of the relative roles to be performed by faculty and administrators in the internal governance of the university. Some would include boards of trustees, students, and other constituencies in this clarification process. In the absence of such clarification, Livingston has said that "...the prospect is for increased tension between faculty and governing boards with administrators caught

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[13]Maurice R. Duperre, "Faculty Organizations as an Aid to Employment Relations in Junior Colleges," *Employment Relations in Higher Education*, ed. Stanley Elam and Michael Moskow (Bloomington, Ind.: Phi Delta Kappa, 1969), pp. 182-183.

[14]It is important to note that an external force, the state legislature, may permit resolution of the issue by passing legislation which enables employees (faculty) in public colleges and universities to choose an association and negotiate. Another external agency, the National Labor Relations Board, has assumed jurisdiction over private universities so these institutions cannot refuse to negotiate with appropriately certified employee groups.

hopelessly in the middle.[15]

The pressures for adoption of shared authority mechanisms are such that over 300 institutions are experimenting with campus senates comprised of students, faculty, and administrative members.[16] New senates are being created and structures are being modified to provide more direct input and broader representation in campus governance.

The Trouble with Senates

Research concerning senates as mechanisms for the implementation of shared authority has identified some basic problems in their operation.[17] These problems may be clasrified as inadequate representativeness, lack of accountability, internal politicization,

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[15]John C. Livingston, "Academic Senate Under Fire," *Agony and Promise*, ed. G. Kerry Smith (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1969), p. 166.

[16]Harold L. Hodgkinson, "The Next Decade," *Research Reporter* I (1970) :6.

[17]The concern here is only with describing the problems in senate operation rather than the relative advantages of senates as opposed to collective negotiations. There is little research on the latter, but some essays are available. See Donald H. Wollett, "Status and Trends of Collective Negotiations," *Wisconsin Law Review* 1 (1971) :24-29; and T. R. McConnell and Kenneth P. Mortimer, *University Governance*, pp. 179-181.

and lack of purpose.[18]

Representativeness

Generally, senates are not representative of the plurality of interests and perspectives found in college and university faculty. The pattern of faculty participation in senates parallels the pattern of citizen involvement in political government. There is a group of apathetics, who do not participate at all--or even exercise their franchise. A second group, the political spectators, remain relatively well informed about governance and occasionally participate in it by performing committee work or engaging in frequent political discussion. A smaller group, less than 10 percent, are political gladiators or oligarchs.[19] These faculty members are quasi administrators who spend a good deal of their time in governance activities. For example, of the 590 different people who served on senate committees at the University of California, Berkeley over a ten-year period, 60 percent were on one committee,

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[18]The data relative to this section of the paper are reported in Kenneth P. Mortimer, "The Structure and Operation of Faculty Governance: Who Rules and How?" (Paper delivered at a national conference on Faculty Members and Campus Governance, Houston, February 18, 1971).

[19]For a more detailed discussion of this framework see Kenneth P. Mortimer and T. R. McConnell, "Faculty Participation in University Governance," *The State of the University: Authority and Change*, ed. Carlos E. Kruytbosch and Sheldon L. Messinger (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1970), pp. 111-131.

23 percent served on two and 10 percent were on three committees. The remaining 7 percent served on from four to seven committees. Other data confirm the point that senate affairs tend to be dominated by these gladiators through control of information, maintenance of secrecy in many areas of senate affairs, and control of the committee appointment process.

Other aspects of inadequate representativeness include seniority on senates and senate committees. At some universities, where they represent only 25 percent of the faculty, full professors often comprise 60 percent of the senate committees. Membership on many committees is limited to full professors, especially those committees dealing with senate operation, personnel matters, and educational policies.

Senates are also said to represent only the views of the academic establishment and to exclude those with divergent values and views from their memberships. Radicals, for example, do not get elected to senates or appointed to senate committees. In some instances senates have inadequate representation from certain academic disciplines, usually the foreign languages and some professional schools. In many cases, senates do not adequately represent the multicampus composition of many universities with newer campuses often underrepresented.

Because of these and other imbalances in the composition of senates and their committees, there is often a widespread recognition

that senates represent only those who are *directly* involved in their decision-making processes. "Responsible" radicals, liberals, and students often feel that a senate does not represent their views, and they attribute little legitimacy to it. The gladiators who tend to control senate affairs represent only the more traditional values. In times of crisis these gladiators are likely to be separate from and even unaware of the views of the younger, more radical members of their constituency who are most likely to be involved in the crisis. Experienced administrators know that they cannot depend solely on the advice and consultation of gladiators because they are often out of touch with important segments of the faculty and student constituencies.

Accountability

Senates are said to lack accountability. Certainly they have little sense of accountability to the public interest as mentioned earlier. More important, when senates act as a decision maker, there is often no opportunity to appeal an adverse decision. In fact, many advocates of collective negotiation argue that this process is superior to senate activity because, among other things, a contract provides for specific grievance and appeal procedures. Of course, many institutions have these amenities without a formal contract.

The charge of lack of accountability in senates is rooted in

the fact that they are hard to control and that the base for senate actions is diffused over such a wide area that there is no single locus of responsibility. Responsibility is often diffused through a large number of committees operating independently of each other and without adequate coordination. Administratively, senates often operate inefficiently. They fail to provide for routine follow-up of legislation and spend a great deal of time debating relatively unimportant matters.

These criticisms are not, in my opinion, crucial for they can be overcome. In some cases, efficiency and responsibility are not the major criteria by which senate performance should be judged.

Internal Politicization

On many campuses the internal politicization of the senate has run apace. Faculty groups muster the votes necessary for passage by lobbying for their pet proposals. Junior faculty and student senators form coalitions to push such measures as antiwar resolutions through the senate. In some cases voting on certain issues is regarded as a question of loyalty to one's informal group rather than an exercising of one's own discretion, whereas in other cases voting adheres strictly to party lines with little consideration for educational substance.[20]

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[20]For some examples at Columbia, the University of New Hampshire, and the University of Minnesota see David Dill, *Case Studies in University Governance* (Washington, D. C.: National Association of State Universities and Land-Grant Colleges, 1971).

In many instances the debate on issues that come to the senate is over political considerations rather than educational matter, and power conflicts often supersede concern for the educational mission or integrity of the institution. Resolutions are frequently hammered out in party caucuses well in advance of senate debate.

Lack of Purpose

As one observes the behavior of senates in a variety of institutions it becomes increasingly apparent that they often lack a sense of purpose. They are trying to perform functions that they are ill equipped to handle and are ignoring areas where they should be involved.

It is generally conceded that senates perform badly in times of crisis or when quick decisions are needed. They are simply not aware of the terrible complexities involved in making the decisions necessary at these times, nor are they representative enough to consider all the various points of view. Because a senate cannot be held accountable for the advice it renders in times of crisis, it should not be the principal agency consulted, but if possible, should be among the many agencies consulted before action is taken.

Senates are at their best when they have time to deliberate and critically review educational proposals. They should not be expected to initiate proposals for reform, although they should

be encouraged to do so. Since senates perform the review function best, that is what they ought to do. They should be very reluctant to deal in legislative and/or administrative detail.

Senates must also consider what role they play in the overall governance system of the institution. It may be hard, for example, for an institution to have both an influential senate and a separate bargaining agent because it will be difficult to separate jurisdictions between them. Similarly a policy of strong college autonomy within a complex university is likely to limit the areas in which a senate can operate effectively. If constituent colleges are to have the power to reorganize themselves internally the senate's role in evaluating such reorganization must rely on persuasion rather than power. Perhaps persuasion is the correct governance pattern for an institution. It *is* clear that merely establishing a senate will not automatically result in new governance patterns. The specific responsibilities and advisory functions must either be spelled out in the initial legislation or there is likely to be little change in the governance process.

Institutions of Higher Education are Political in Their Governance Relationships

Institutions of higher education are composed of a myriad of factions, each of which has its own views about the fundamental

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nature of the enterprise. Governors, legislatures, the courts, and governing boards expect a measure of accountability and expect the public interests to be interjected into institutional governance patterns. Many faculty are interested in preserving individual autonomy and professional influence as the governance standard. An increasing proportion of faculty and students are interested in moving away from influence to codified power relationships. What can institutions do to adjust to some of these new realities? The course will not be easy, but some suggestions can be made.[21]

1. Colleges and universities must begin to develop new and broader definitions of representativeness. Some institutions (e.g., Columbia and Queens College) have made specific provision for representation of nontenured faculty and students on their senates. Others have moved to form campus-wide or community consultative structures in which researchers, clerical staff, and alumni are represented. The plurality of interests which is apparent on most campuses should also receive some consideration in any representative scheme of governance. Those of the majority viewpoints must be careful to include as many minority views as possible in the governance process.

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[21]T. R. McConnell and Kenneth P. Mortimer, *University Governance*, pp. 183-189.

2. To avoid the rigidities associated with senates and other institutionalized structures, these mechanisms should be kept structurally simple. They should have as few standing committees as possible. In their stead colleges and universities should formulate more ad hoc structures for the resolution of problems. Temporary committees and task forces should be used to study problems, and they should be disbanded when their task is completed. By this means one could hope to avoid the rigidities of bureaucratic structures and situations in which conflicts accumulate from issue to issue or from person to person.

3. Colleges and universities should clarify jurisdictions and develop "democratic" procedures to a greater extent than they have to date.

   a. Many of the preoccupations of the late 1960s concerning parietal rules and student conduct should be resolved through a consensually developed set of rules and procedures which would institutionalize the canons of due process. There should be specified appeal procedures for any student who feels he has been treated unjustly by administrators or faculty members. Few practicing administrators can afford to spend large amounts of time in resolving these conflicts, which routinization may be able to solve for them. These procedures should incorporate the right of appeal for almost any administrative decision, whether made by faculty or administrators.

b. The relative roles of each structure of the governance process should also be clarified. If senates are to advise the administration on educational policies the advisory function should not be left to chance, but procedures to accomplish such functions must be specified.

4. Finally, the composition of governing boards, which are the major link between institutions and the public, should be changed to reflect a more pluralistic constituency. Lay membership should no longer be confined mainly to those who represent wealth, position, or political power. Boards must become responsive to a wider ranger of economic interests, to a pluralistic political constituency, and to a more diverse pattern of ethnic and cultural backgrounds. They should also maintain some student and faculty representatives, and there should be increased opportunity for joint discussion among administrators, faculty, students, alumni, and other constituencies.

Normality of Conflict

Those who yearn for "peace" in the university will find that it is a relative condition. Colleges and universities may hope to free themselves from serious disruption and violence, but it seems certain that they will have to live with controversy and conflict in

the foreseeable future. There are many sources of discord from external forces like governments, the courts, and civil authorities. Internally there are several competing interests. There is disagreement over the fundamental nature of the university. Opposed to those who insist that the university's purpose is to search for truth, analyze the shortcomings of society, and propose methods of social reform, but avoid direct social action, are those who would make the institution an active instrument of social revolution. The debates on the relative emphasis between teaching and research, and on the primacy of professional versus liberal education, will continue. On a more mundane level, there will be a struggle for scarce resources and demands for greater autonomy. There is also growing tension between faculty and administration, and faculty and governing boards, and there may be growing conflict between faculty and students. Unionism and collective negotiations may intensify adversary relations among faculty, students, administration, and trustees, all of which will continue to struggle for power. These controversies and conflicts will be considered "normal" to the university, and the resolution of such dissension, rather than the management of violent disruption, will be the norm for future operation.

Students of organizational behavior have attempted, without great success, to formulate alternative models of university

governance. They have discussed bureaucratic and democratic models, collective bargaining, and other prototypes. Perhaps a general political model offers a useful framework for resolving conflicting university interests since the political system is essentially a mechanism for translating competitive interests and internal conflict into policy.

Conflict, however, should be regarded as a natural phenomenon in academic governance. According to Foster, "The central issue ...is whether it is better to approach the university as an organization in which unity, harmony, and consensus is the norm and the ideal, or whether it should be seen as a forum for permanent conflict."[22] Although conflict can be so intense as to destroy the university, it can stimulate progress and innovation. Conflict can lead to greater understanding of substantive issues and to more rigorous debate of alternative courses of action. Social theorists have argued that institutionalized conflict is a stablizing mechanism in loosley structured organizations and open societies.[23] By permitting direct expression of conflicting claims, these societies can readjust their priorities and procedures by eliminating sources

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[22]Julian F. S. Foster, "A Political Model for the University," *Educational Record* (Fall, 1968) :436.

[23]Lewis Coser, *The Functions of Social Conflict* (New York: The Free Press, 1956).

of dissatisfaction and causes for dissociation. Thus, through tolerating the institutionalizing conflict, institutions of higher education may reestablish unity, or at least reach a tolerable solution to the issues that divide them.

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CHANGING GOVERNANCE PATTERNS AND THE FACULTY

Stanley O. Ikenberry

CHANGING GOVERNANCE PATTERNS AND THE FACULTY

Those in higher education are fond of referring to each year or decade as one of unprecedented challenge and demand for new dedication and adaptation by colleges and universities. If such language was appropriate in the past, it somehow rings as an understatement as colleges and universities move into the decade of the seventies. Uncertainty, conflict, confusion, lack of trust, and challenges to many cherished traditions in American higher education suggest no mere pruning of a few overextended branches, but that more fundamental challenges reaching to the very taproot of American higher education are in motion.[1]

Much of the turmoil on college campuses in the last half-dozen years has focused on issues of governance, or the decision-making process. The struggle has centered on questions such as: Who should participate in decision making? What are the issues? Whose procedures should be followed to resolve disputes and what

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[1]Clark Kerr, "Destiny--Not So Manifest," (Paper delivered at the National Conference on Higher Education, Chicago, March 14-17, 1971).

structures are appropriate? And, whose values and interests are to be promoted?

Answers to at least some of these questions are beginning to emerge on most campuses, and through the smoke and debris the trends may suggest some hint of the future. The aim of this paper is to enumerate a few of these apparent trends and to speculate on certain implications for the future.

The Demise of the Academic Mystique

Perhaps the most prevasive trend in higher education governance is best termed a demise of the academic mystique.[2] The breakdown in governance systems on many college and university campuses during the sixties and the consequent confidence crises that emerged opened colleges and universities to new levels of scrutiny from those within as well as those external to the campus. Lack of trust and suspicion forced institutions to open their decision-making processes to greater public inspection. As examples, decisions regarding the award of tenure at Yale and elsewhere required greater disclosure and public justification. Faculty salaries and

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[2]For a more detailed elaboration and documentation of the trends that follow, see the *Journal of Higher Education* XLII (June, 1971), pp. 421-544, which presents a series of six analytical papers, accompanied by commentary. Analysts include John J. Corson, Burton R. Clark, T. R. McConnell, Kenneth P. Mortimer, Talcott Parsons, and Marvin W. Peterson.

ranks at Michigan and throughout the land were subjected to careful examination to insure the absence of discrimination against women. Decisions regarding the allocation of the institution's resources and the management of its investments, as well as the implied values and priorities, frequently required open defense both within the institution and to the public at large.

The higher education mystique of the past, sustained by a largely uncritical affection and by a general disinterest and lack of understanding of the intricacies of college and university decision making, gave way to new levels of campus involvement, more careful public surveillance and increased sophistication in all quarters. Assuming this new exposure of colleges and universities is not likely to be quickly reversed, institutions must accommodate new demands for accountability, from new constituencies, and in more precise forms than in the past.

Decline in Autonomy

A second governance trend has been a general decline in autonomy for nearly all in the campus community: administrators, faculty members, students, and trustees. College presidents, for example, now recognize the need to retain the confidence and support of students, faculty, alumni, legislators, donors, coordinating boards, trustees, and the general public. This dependence has placed genuine limitations on presidential autonomy.

Faculty autonomy is very clearly in a period of decline at many institution, particularly at universities, not only as a result of a reassertion of administrative authority, but as a consequence of legislative intervention. Students have stepped up their surveillance of faculty members through more systematic evaluation of teaching and increased membership on campus committees. Students themselves, however, enjoy less autonomy. Increased intervention by civil authorities has at least partially filled the vacuum created by the withdrawal of colleges and universities from *in loco parentis* policies. Although students have greater influence in the governance process, especially in the exercise of their rights as consumers, the record of campus unrest in 1970-71 suggests that small groups of students are now less likely to paralyze a campus and enforce their demands on other segments of the academic community.

Decisions by college trustees, often considered beyond review, are now given increased scrutiny. Indeed, even the legitimacy of the board and the appropriateness of its membership has been called into question.[3]

In short, several forces now challenge individual and institutional autonomy, long regarded as an essential feature of

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[3]Rodney T. Hartnett, *The New College Trustee: Some Predictions for the 1970s* (Princeton, New Jersey: Educational Testing Service, 1970), p. 44.

American higher education, and there is little evidence to suggest an early reversal of the trend. Accommodation to this more restricted and inhibited state will not come easily to any of the segments of the academic community, but the most severe adjustment problems may be experienced by faculty members.

Procedural Regularization

A third trend of note is an increased standardization of governance procedures and codes. The loosely organized, ad hoc traditions of academic organization have given way on many college and university campuses to greater standardization and formalization of governance procedures. Campus-wide and community-wide councils and assemblies, for example, have been established at several institutions and replace previously informal and irregular consultations among faculty, students, administrators, and governing boards. Codes of conduct for students, faculty members, and administrators have been made more explicit, and procedures for appeal of grievances and enforcement of the codes have been strengthened on many campuses. The student code at one state university, for example, previously required students to conduct themselves as ladies and gentlemen, a definition since found to be wanting in terms of specificity. Standardization of procedures has also been brought about on some campuses by the emergence of unions. Formerly undefined and irregular salary schedules and promotion policies have been standardized

and made explicit as a result of collective bargaining. Previously, informal procedures, mores, and standards have been subjected to negotiation and incorporated as part of the formal contract.

Regardless of the specific form, colleges and universities have been forced to reject the ad hoc, informal approaches to governance of the past in favor of more stable, elaborate, and well-defined mechanisms. While such moves may help to manage and reduce campus conflict, they may also restrict institutional flexibility and adaptation.

Conflict Recognition and Management

A fourth trend relates to a growing acceptance of the possibility of campus conflict as the norm rather than the exception. The college campus has grown too pluralistic, the politics of confrontation have become too powerful, and the social cement of consensus has weakened to the extent that it is no longer possible to ignore the prospect of conflict. On most college campuses, as well as in society at large, the question is not whether there will be conflict, but whether there is an adequate mechanism for its identification and management.

Clark Kerr, speaking at a recent Houston conference on governance, suggested that an academic model of the future may resemble more closely that of a quasi-public utility in the sense that it would acknowledge conflict among the interests of students,

faculty, administrators, and others within the academic community, as well as points of conflict between the needs of institutions and the public interest. The important implication is the legitimation of conflict in higher education, and with its legitimation, the need for strenghtening higher education's capacity for conflict management and resolution.

Decentralization

A fifth apparent trend in higher education governance relates to decentralization. The Newman Report is only the most recent to call for greater decentralization.[4] The hope is somehow to change the campus in the direction of more unified belief clusters, to increase diversity among these clusters, and reduce the tension among factions through organizational insulation and decentralization.

Advocates of greater decentralization point out that colleges and universities depend heavily on voluntary compliance and that the preservation of the traditional freedoms of the academic environment requires a workable consensus about means, ends, and basic value assumptions. The present weaknesses in the bonds between institutional belief and purpose are only too apparent in most large,

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[4]Frank Newman, chairman, *Report on Higher Education*, U. S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (Washington, D. C.: U. S. Government Printing Office, March, 1971), pp. 71-72.

complex institutions.[5]

The problems of decentralization are several, however, and include the unrelenting pressures, external as well as internal, for increased accountability. Decentralization may mean greater risk taking and less apparent accountability, and therefore colleges and universities are likely to proceed cautiously. An additional and perhaps more significant obstacle to decentralization is the inability of the present organizational structure of colleges and universities to lend itself to decentralization. One of the major problems faced by many institutions over the last decade has been that of dealing with the consequences of unintended decentralization, and greater decentralization along these same lines would only exacerbate an already severe problem. Failure to decentralize, on the other hand, may restrict both the governance stability and the educational effectiveness of institutions of higher learning.

A Challenge to Professionalism

An additional trend is found in the growing challenges to academic professionalism, which take several forms. The restriction of faculty autonomy and formalization of procedures, for example, run counter to traditions of professional autonomy,

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[5]Burton R. Clark, "The New University," *The State of The University*, ed. Carlos E. Kruytbosch and Sheldon L. Messinger (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1970), pp. 17-26.

application of professional judgment, and adherence to professional rather than organizational values and procedures. Demands for more explicit statements of ethics and more direct response to instances of apparently irresponsible faculty behavior illustrate the challenge to traditional professionalism and to the assumption that professionals can and will govern themselves.

The challenge to academic professionalism has confronted the general public from still different directions. The Free Speech Movement at Berkeley, the disruptions at Columbia and Harvard, the bombings at Wisconsin, and the general unrest on most of America's supposedly "best" campuses caused the traditional models of academic excellence, toward which much of American higher education had aspired, to turn sour.

Emphasis on graduate education, occasionally considered by some to be nearly synonymous with institutional excellence, came under fire as the demand for Ph.D.'s entered a period of decline while the production of graduates reached an all time high.[6] Research activity, earlier seen as a sign of academic status and institutional prestige, became the focus of intense criticism by those who demanded that higher priorities be given to teaching and more time and attention devoted to students.

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[6]Allan M. Cartter, "Aftereffects of Blind Eye to Telescope," *Educational Record* 51 (Fall, 1970) :333-338.

Whether challenges to academic professionalism are of a short-run, crisis-related duration, or whether they suggest a more fundamental long-term redefinition of academic values is not clear. It is apparent, however, that an academic counterrevolution is underway, which will inhibit, if not reverse, the trends toward increased academic professionalization, so strong and apparent in the decade of the sixties. A broader, more comprehensive infusion of "public interest" values is likely to be interjected as the base on which college and university decisions will be made during the seventies.

Implications for Members of the Faculty

The history of higher education is one of change, of institutional adaptation in a changing society. The decade of the seventies clearly marks a significant point for American colleges and universities, perhaps without parallel during this century. Clark Kerr observed that "Higher education in the United States is entering a great climacteric -- a period of uncertainty, of conflict, of confusion, of potential change."[7] The noted governance trends, suggestive of much broader changes taking place in institutions of higher learning, carry potentially far-reaching implications for institutional structure, mission, programs, finance, as well as higher education's role within the broader society. A brief

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[7]Clark Kerr, "Destiny--Not So Manifest," p. 1.

analysis of the special implications of changing governance patterns for faculty members may therefore be timely.

First, *faculty members will continue to seek and to receive a significant role in institutional policy formation and decision making, but will be confronted with difficult and far-reaching choices about the means of participation.* The debate over whether faculty should share the power is no longer at issue; the more significant questions revolve around the areas or issues most appropriate for heavy faculty involvement, the levels within and beyond the institution at which the involvement should take place, and, perhaps most important, the *means* through which faculty members will be involved in policy formation and decision making. Speaking for the community colleges in this regard, Richard Richardson suggested his concern by observing that "the question today is no longer one of whether faculty will be involved but rather the more serious issue of what the role the administrator is likely to be, should the current trend in the direction of separate faculty organizations for the purpose of negotiating salary and working conditions continue."[8]

Whether faculty will press for more active participation in academic and institutional policy decisions through the more

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[8]Richard C. Richardson, Jr., "Needed: New Directions in Administration," *Junior College Journal* 40(March, 1970) :16.

conventional route of senates, faculty committees, and assemblies or whether they will place primacy on collective bargaining and negotiations as a principal means of participation is not clear, and the answer will differ among types of institutions. In the case of two-year colleges, faculty choice has moved heavily in the direction of collective bargaining. The comparative weakness of traditional mechanisms and traditions of faculty participation in decision making in two-year colleges presents collective bargaining as an attractive alternative to some faculty members interested not only in potential salary advantages but in securing a stronger role and voice in the institutional governance processes.

Movement toward collective negotiations, however, has been much more reserved at four-year institutions and complex universities. One might hypothesize from early evidence that those institutions in which the values and traditions of academic professionalism are the strongest will be most likely to retain the more traditional forms of faculty participation. Whatever the choice by faculty among principal means of participation in campus decision making, the choice will have far-reaching consequences and will influence not only the nature and degree of faculty participation in governance but the very character of colleges and universities themselves.

Second, *faculty members will be forced to share several of their traditional decision-making prerogatives with others, likely at some sacrifice to present assumptions about professional auton-*

omy and academic freedom. Although faculty members will maintain a significant voice in policy formation and decision making, by whatever means, they will also need to share many of their traditional decision-making prerogatives with others. Students, of course, have been invited -- or barring an invitation have invaded-- institutional committees, councils, and assemblies, formerly reserved for faculty and administrative participation. The sanctity of the classroom will be influenced by the growing practices of systematic student evaluation of teaching and the increased opportunity for student appeal of grievances. Students will share the power,[9] and some of the power will be shared in areas formerly reserved almost solely for faculty judgment.

Faculty members will also need to accommodate themsevles to stronger administrative initiatives. Lewis Mayhew has observed that restoration of power to the presidency of American colleges and universities may not be an altogether complete remedy to the several ills that confront higher education, but stronger central leadership may be an essential precondition to any more permanent

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[9]Earl J. McGrath, *Should Students Share the Power? A Study of Their Role in College and University Governance* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1970).

solutions.[10] Shifts in public opinion, changes in the supply and demand ratio between available Ph.D.'s and academic openings in universities, public expectations for stronger institutional (administrative) accountability, as well as the serious internal and external threats to the very survival of several institutions will call forth the demand for much stronger administrative initiative in the years immediately ahead.

Not only will faculty members need to accommodate themselves to apparent encroachments from administrators and students, faculty members in institutions supported from public funds -- which more and more includes nearly all of higher education -- will need to adjust to increasingly powerful external forces, which will influence decisions traditionally reserved to the faculty. Palola, Lehmann, and Blischke have observed that state-wide coordinating bodies have been reasonably effective in controlling the expansion of new educational thrusts, stimulating and reviewing institutional long-range planning, defining and approving new needs and priorities to be served by higher education, and defining and defending the dimensions of institutional differentiation in mission within broader, complex systems of higher education.[11] Although some

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[10]Lewis B. Mayhew, "Emerging Concepts of the Presidency," *The Journal of Higher Education* 42 (May, 1971) :366.

[11]Ernest G. Palola, Timothy Lehmann, and William R. Blischke, *Higher Education By Design: The Sociology of Planning* (Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1970).

have called attention to the dangers of excessive centralization of control in public higher education,[12] there is no impressive evidence suggesting a reversal of the trends toward increased central scrutiny of institutional goals and objectives, programs, and priorities.

In short, whether from forces from within the institution resulting from a shift in the institutional balance of power or whether from growing forces external to the institution such as state-wide coordinating agencies and central governing boards, faculty members will likely be required to share several of their traditional decision-making prerogatives with others. The adaptation, in turn, will probably be made at some sacrifice to the usual assumptions about professional autonomy and accepted mores of academic freedom. Indeed, the redefinition of these fundamental concepts may turn out to be the most important items on the academic agenda in the seventies.

Third, *if faculty members wish to maximize their participation in governance and sustain the traditions and expectations for faculty exercise of professional judgment in institutional decisions, they will need to satisfy college administrators, boards of trustees, students, and the public at large that professional values are not necessarily at variance with the values of the broader society.*

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[12]Newman, *Report on Higher Education.* p. 72.

One of the most significant challenges facing higher education during the 1970s is the restoration of public confidence. The so-called confidence crisis is characterized by a decline in public trust in the ability of academic administrators and faculty members to cope successfully with the contemporary problems in higher education and to be sufficiently responsive to societal interpretations of the public interest. Newspaper and television accounts of student unrest during the late sixties and early seventies suggested an image of college and university faculty members ranging from that of benign neglect and general ineptitude to outright complicity. Questions of misplaced institutional priorities on teaching, research, and public service were directed not only to members of the administration and boards of trustees, but to the faculty as well. Public attitudes were further inflamed by misinterpretations of the traditions of academic freedom and tenure that seemed to place irresponsible faculty members beyond the reach of professional accountability. Contributing further to the deterioration of public confidence has been the paradox of astronomically high tuition costs in private higher education and staggering legislative budget strains in the public sector, while at the same time large numbers of institutions are apparently facing immediate or prospective financial crises.[13]

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[13]Earl F. Cheit, *The New Depression in Higher Education, A Study of Financial Conditions in 41 Colleges and Universities* (New York: McGraw-Hill. Carnegie Commission on Higher Education report, 1971).

These concerns happened to coincide with a point in time at which faculty power in academic decision making was at an all-time high, and thus it is not surprising that faculty members have been placed in a vulnerable position. If the faculty wishes to maximize its participation in decision making in the future and to sustain the traditions that have allowed the exercise of independent professional judgment, it will need to seek ways to insure the interjection and strenghtening of the public interest in academic decision making. Moreover, faculty members must recognize the fact that conflicts between professional values and the public interest can and do arise and that the two are not necessarily synonymous as was apparently assumed during the decade of the sixties.

Fourth, *faculty members will need to be prepared to accept closer and more careful review of their performance and to respond to demands for greater professional as well as institutional accountability*. The academic profession at large, particularly the American Association of University Professors, was shocked by the action of the American Association of State Colleges and Universities which withdrew endorsement from the 1940 AAUP Statement on Academic Freedom and Tenure. In withdrawing its endorsement, the Association approved a new statement, which contained essentially the same language but added new sections on faculty responsibilities. Parallel to such moves have been efforts by several institutions including

Stanford, the University of California, and others to strengthen institutional definitions of faculty responsibilities and establish procedures and mechanisms for their enforcement.

The probability of more careful review of faculty performance is also suggested by growing legislative encroachments in Michigan, New York, and other states that have defined, by law, academic work loads, adjusted sabbatical leave policies, and taken other actions in apparent attempts to force faculty members as well as institutions to respond more directly to the public interest as defined, in these cases, by state legislatures. At the same time, of course, faculty members will have opened more direct routes for appeal of their grievances. Arbitrary board and administrative actions, for example, including the dismissal of junior faculty members without reported cause, will also come under more general scrutiny. Such practices may enforce greater degrees of institutional accountability to faculty members. Regularization of faculty salary and promotion criteria and more systematic evaluation of faculty performance from a variety of sources will, on the one hand, provide greater scrutiny of faculty performance, but on the other hand, it may enable faculty members to avoid sometimes alleged discriminatory and irrational institutional personnel policies.

Thus, demands for accountability are likely to be made across the board. Such demands may require closer and more careful review

of faculty performance, but they may also demand greater scrutiny of the relationships between faculty members and their institutions.

After what many would assess to be one of the most comprehensive recent reviews of governance shifts in American higher education now available, T. R. McConnell concluded that "The most unchallengeable thing that can be said about the present pattern of authority, power, and influence in American higher education is that it is in flux. I do not know what configuration will emerge in the next decade. I am not even sure what pattern I think should emerge. But surely there will be a continuing struggle for power, and the contenders will be numerous."[14] In short, the only certainty may be the rather clear expectation of continuing change.

One might summarize the net effect of recent governance trends in the observation that faculty members will need to adapt to new institutional structures, different governance systems, unfamilar procedures, and new mores if they wish to keep abreast of changing governance patterns. Younger members of the faculty may find these changes most comfortable and comprehensible, but for many senior members of the faculty, not only will new structures, procedures, and mores need to be learned, but old patterns, conceptions, and

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[14]T. R. McConnell, *The Redistribution of Power in Higher Education* (Berkeley: Center for Research and Development in Higher Education, 1971), pp. 1-2.

traditions unlearned or broken.

A continuous challenge, reform, and reaffirmation of the purposes of higher education is essential if colleges and universities are to remain viable social institutions and to play an optimum role in American society. The struggle over college and university governance is no less than a struggle to control this relationship. Much of the institutional adaptation and change will be brought about by externally generated pressures; much will be brought about through effective administrative leadership. Still, much of the change -- and perhaps the most significant of the change -- must come about through the energies and talents of faculty members. How this will be accomplished and the extent of the ultimate social benefits remain enticing and unanswered questions.

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GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL VALUES: WHAT IS AT STAKE?

G. Lester Anderson

GOVERNANCE AND INSTITUTIONAL VALUES: WHAT IS AT STAKE?

The two earlier papers in this report describe analytically a variety of pressures for changes in governance processes and structures in American higher education. There is pressure for change in the decision-making process. There is pressure to change the makeup of the parties who make the decisions. There is external pressure for surrender of large segments of the traditional autonomy of colleges and universities. The pertinent question, however, is not always asked: Do the nature and conditions of governance make a difference? Put in more significant terms the question becomes: Who shall control the university and to what ends?

The last great governance shift in American higher education centered at the midpoint of the nineteenth century. During the first half of that century the American college surrendered pietistic aims for utilitarian aims.[1] Control of education by the

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[1]Frederick Randolph, *The American Colleges and Universities* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1962). See particularly chapters 6, 7, 8, 10, and 11.

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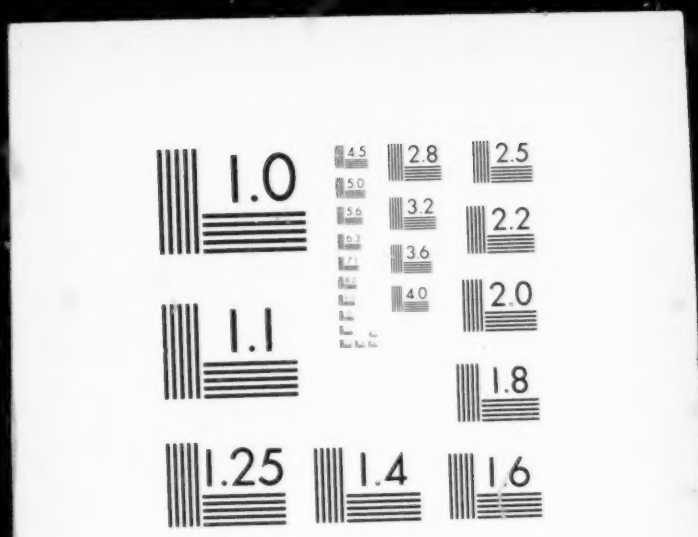

various religious denominations began to give way to secular control, which permitted the concept of academic freedom to develop, and ultimately to become a major feature of the American system of higher education.[2] During the second half of the nineteenth century the founding of land grant colleges gave new meaning to the utilitarian aims of higher education, to the general well being of the body politic. The use of the German model of graduate and professional study to remake Harvard, to become the base for Johns Hopkins on its founding, and to enhance and expand the character of the land grant colleges so that they became universities also had profound effects. The idea that the university should search for "truth" through scholarly activity and research combined with the German concepts of Lernfreiheit and Lehrfrieheit,[3] also brought to this country, enhanced the development of academic freedom.

During the last 125 years this nation has developed an elaborate system of higher education, exceedingly diverse, comprised of more than two-thousand distinct institutions, but woven together in common commitments to teaching, research, and service.

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[2]Richard Hofstadter and Walter Medsker, *The Development of Academic Freedom in the United States* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955).

[3]The two terms are generally translated: student freedom to learn and teacher freedom to teach.

The commitment of this system to research and intellectual freedom was "made possible by the conditions of an autonomy within the general society to conduct (its) internal affairs without direct intrusion of external forces."[4]

Now this autonomy is being challenged. After more than a century of evolving to autonomy and freedom, we may find ourselves in a new game similar to that which developed in the nineteenth century. The fact that colleges and universities have been continuously challenged since the beginning of the last decade, not only by students, but by other factions, including political orientations of both right and left, supports the feelings of these institutions that they are, indeed, threatened. That which is threatened is not simply the contemporary power group in these institutions, which can withstand power shifts external to them without being fundamentally disturbed. The purposes of those who would change the system of governance at this time in history are primarily to change the locus of decision making in order to control the ends of the educational system, and to control the value system of the colleges and universities, their goals or purposes. The college and university,

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[4]E. D. Duryea, "Reform in University Government," *The Journal of Higher Education* XLII (May, 1971):340.

may become a different social instrument as power and authority shift in the last decade of this century.

Matters at stake in governance issues are varied. They include: priority given to efficiency in operation; philosophy and belief regarding the nature of effective organization; ability to impose or maintain organizational discipline; the exercise of authority or power; and finally, the nature of the goals of the university. Issues of means and of ends may be separately or interdependently involved.

In one of the most noted governance issues in the history of American higher education, the University of California oath controversy, the issue was not one of principle but one of power. Gardner has written:

> There is one grand myth of the loyalty oath conflict, tenaciously clung to by some out of ignorance and by others for ideological reasons, which might be exposed to light at the outset: that this was mostly a conflict over principles. It was not. In its main outlines and principal events it was a power struggle, a series of personnel encounters between proud and influential men.[5]

Let us further explore one of the more critical items at issue as governance modes are shifting, namely, institutional goals. There is little doubt that the larger environment is pressing the college and university to change its decision-making processes.

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[5]David P. Gardner, *The California Oath Controversy* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1967), p. 1.

Courts, governors, legislators, and trustees are asking faculty and staff to be more accountable, not necessarily in terms of faculty values, but of social values. Internally, powerful forces are at work through the collegial administration, the bureaucracies, and student actions to limit markedly the autonomy which the scholar has had to do *his thing*. Not only must he account to students and administrators for the quality of his teaching as he has never before had to account, he must justify his work schedule and his work day. He is being asked by some to give up tenure and by others to surrender personal privilege and individual negotiation in order to protect himself and his peer group through the modes of the labor union -- collective bargaining or negotiation.

Who is to tell the scholar what to do becomes a critical question. Shall it be governors, legislators, courts or the community of scholars? On the basis of what criteria will decisions of rejection and selection be made? Will it be concepts of accountability to *present* social forms, processes, and structures? Will it be in terms of the historic role of the scholar-teacher, who has been creator, conserver, and transmitter of knowledge and culture, and the critic of society?

Part of the situation, which colleges and universities face, stems from the fact that they have never been well understood by those who support them, i.e. the larger society. Indeed, they

are not always well understood by their own constituencies -- students, alumni, faculty, or administrators. If they had been and were now understood, they might possibly not be under attack.

Involved is the potential with which colleges and universities can change society. Indeed, this is a major responsibility of higher education in the Western world, and it is this responsibility that is at issue and at stake. Because its significance is generally not appreciated or even recognized, the fundamental issue -- who makes the decisions -- is not perceived in its full significance. It is as teacher and critic of society that the scholar and his organizational home -- the college and university -- have made their unique contribution to Western culture. It is the shape of Western culture -- its openness, ethics, moral values, its tremendous utilization of knowledge to build an affluent society -- that are subtly challenged as classical forms of college and university governance are modified. Such subtle challenges may become effective challenges to certain of the historically accepted goals of our university and college systems.

A two-pronged analysis of college and university organization and decision making is beginning to emerge.[6] Arising

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[6]In the late 1950s the author had occasion to review and synthesize the literature on college and university organization

primarily from the sociological literature are concepts of universities as organizations. Are they bureaucracies? Are they communities? Does it make any difference? From the literature of political theory arises the concepts of processes relevant to decision making. Who has power? Who has authority? Who has influence? Does it make any difference?

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and administration, at which time it was reported that there was very little research or study based on theoretical or conceptual organizational systems. The literature was pragmatic, topical, descriptive, and often hortatory. [G. Lester Anderson, "Colleges and Universities-Organization and Administration," *Encyclopedia of Educational Research* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1960), pp. 252-268]. It was not until after 1960, when Corson published his book *Governance of Colleges and Universities*, that the term governance began to be freely used regarding the university, and systems of governance began to be analyzed. [John Corson, *Governance of Colleges and Universities* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960)]. In 1963, the author prepared a paper which reviewed the nature of universities in terms of such organizational concepts as community, collegium, and bureaucracy, which was perhaps the first such analysis and was somewhat primitive in concept. [G. Lester Anderson, "The Organizational Character of American Colleges and Universities," *The Study of Academic Administration*, (Boulder: Western Interstate Commission for Higher Education, 1963), pp. 1-19].

Today, however, we have a series of studies that apply concepts, derived from sociological and political theory, to college and university organization and administration. Caplow and McGee's the *Academic Market Place*, Millet's *The Academic Community*, Dressel's (et al.) *The Confidence Crisis*, Kruytbosch and Messinger's *The State of the University*, as well as Corson's work are simply illustrative of the attention that has been given in conceptual terms to the college and university organization in the last dozen or so years. This work rests on the fundamental organizational concepts of men like Weber and Parsons, and the more directly applied works of Barnard, Simon, March, Thompson, Blau, Prestus, Gouldner, McGregor, Bennis, Etzioni, Selznick, and many others. This work provides a theoretical base for understanding governance structures and issues. It permits some projection or prediction of the consequences of one or another system.

It is now clear, however, as a theory of organization emerges, that these modes of organization and operation do make a difference in the functioning of organizations. If bureaucratic forms for university organization grow and prevail, decisions will be made in bureaucratic terms. Efficiency or measures of output will be controlling. Goals will be explicitly set in measurable outputs. Persons skilled in the technologies of management and organizational evaluation will dominate the system. Governing standards will reflect: How many degrees were granted? How many credit hours were generated? How many contact hours were spend in the classroom by the faculty by rank? How many public lectures were held? How many persons attended? How many pages of scholarly publication were generated by the faculty? Order and efficiency will be controlling concepts.

If community or collegial forms of organization grow and dominate the system, decisions will be made in terms of other criteria. Efficiency will be only an incidental criterion of worth. Values without quantitative counterparts will be held in high esteem. Questions of the following type when asked and answered will seem to determine the worth of the college or university: How much freedom is present on the campus? What prizewinning books were written? Is the campus congenial to the eccentric? Are students challenging? Are rules flexible and lightly enforced?

Do avant-garde or deviant processes of education or ideas of education find a warm reception?

If one turns to political models for the university or to an identification of decision makers, based on concepts of power, authority and influence, another dimension for evaluation of governance emerges. Do trustees hold the power of decision making, regarding curriculum, requirements for degrees, and who shall teach? Or do the faculty? Are trustees, trustees in the sense of *conservers* of the value system of the college and university? Or do trustees see themselves as significant decision makers in the management affairs of the institution? Do faculty members view themselves as employees, much as school teachers do, who make decisions within the classroom, but leave the big decisions to administrators and others? Or do faculty members see *themselves as the institution or organization* -- as professionals, as determiners of the nature and processes of education and scholarship?

To point out the potential for mischief in changing the goals of higher education in each of the differing mechanisms for governance is perhaps to support the status quo. This is not necessarily so. A process of social adaptation for organizations and institutions, change has characterized all aspects of American higher education -- its purpose, its structure, and

its operation. Though change is certainly needed today and in the next several decades if the university and the college are to continue their relevance, few are discussing changes in organization and governance in terms of their threat to the purposes of the higher educational institution.

The current discussion must go beyond a defense of the status quo. As courts, governors, legislature, budget directors, and other public agencies and officials secure power to control the higher educational establishments, it is not enough to deplore the present and defend the past. We must ask: What differences will it make? Do we want these differences? Public bodies want safe institutions. They often do not want the university -- its faculty or its students -- to be a powerful agent in pointing out the consequences of racism, war, urban ghettos, or environmental spoilage. But this is what universities are here to be in a socially constructive sense. It is the administrators, faculty, and indeed students and alumni who must become aware of what is happening in governance in terms of its consequences.

It is certain that old modes of governance will not endure without challenge or change. If "tenure" has protected not only those who courageously critize but also the slothful or the obsolete, perhaps new modes for protection of academic freedom will originate. Many faculty members who are established,

professional, and satisfied have opposed collective negotiations as a mode of faculty involvement in decision making and a new mode of establishing tenure rights. But it may be that the total academic community in the long view of events will become better served than it has been by present faculty ranking and tenure provisions. It has been pointed out that the "very purpose" of the institution can become negotiable in a collective bargaining process. Hence, if goals are threatened by recent changes in governance, both internal and external, they might well be restored under conditions of collective bargaining. This possibility at least deserves review.

A variety of other relationships could be explored. Who should arbitrate conflict? To what degree should administration be decentralized? What is at issue between statewide coordinating mechanisms and institutional autonomy?

We believe a point has been made. The central theme of this essay purports the idea that the type of governance does make a difference, and, in a most basic sense, it makes a difference in the definition and maintenance of the most fundamental goal of the higher education system -- the advancement of knowledge.

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